actually has provided the Orokaiva with a reliable and substantial cash income for some years. This is true to a very minor extent for the third cash crop promoted on a major scale, copra, which was grown especially near the coast. The coffee is processed and sent to a co-operative factory as parchment, for which purpose many villages own one or more hullers. Copra is supposed to be dried in driers built in the villages, but the one I saw in Inonda had broken down and seems unlikely to be repaired.

*Clothing.* The traditional Orokaiva costume was a skirt for women and a perineal band for men (Williams 1930: 32–4). Boys went naked until some time before puberty, girls until after puberty seclusion. These garments were made of barkcloth obtained from trees which were mostly grown in gardens for this purpose. Larger garments were used for wrapping round the shoulders in cold weather, and also for shrouds. This mode of dress was abandoned in the 1950s, so that today the Orokaiva buy their clothes almost entirely from trade stores and at mission bazaars. Traditional dress is used for dances, initiation ceremonies and other special occasions. For this reason bark-cloth trees (such as the *ajimo*) are found rather infrequently in gardens today. Bark-cloth is still being painted with decorations in traditional style and with a mixture of traditional and trade dyes.

*Housing.* Villages are in flat clearings where the grass is kept scrupulously cut and from which the women regularly sweep away rubbish. Houses (*bande*) are built in two facing rows, each house normally being occupied by one nuclear family. The roof of sago thatch slopes down from a central ridgepole. Wall construction has been in various styles since Australian contact, but today vertically set sago-branch midribs are becoming old fashioned in some areas and vertically laid shingles, about 6 ft. by 5¾ ins., are being adopted in villages desiring to show they are tuned in to modern life. A great number of tree species must be used for the various parts of the house. Materials are taken as much as possible from reverted gardens which contain small trees. For a number of purposes large trees with trunks of high-quality slow-growing wood are considered essential. These trees have to be obtained from areas of bush much older than the usual reverted gardens. On the Mount Lamington foothills, such areas are very scarce. Trees of this quality tend to be the subject of gift exchange as between families, a subject to be discussed below.

Though it is each man's responsibility to build his own house, it is usual to call on helpers, especially sons, brothers and brothers-in-law, to help with construction. Recent changes in house construction include the increasing use of nails, though not for flooring; a remarkable increase in house sizes; the change in wall construction already mentioned, and a number of measures to 'improve' hygiene: lavatories, rubbish holes, pens for chickens, windows. The windows, an innovation promoted by the government to combat tuberculosis, are considered too uncomfortable in cold, wind or rain. Accordingly, they are always covered over with pieces of timber which can be removed if the patrol officer insists.[6]

Bachelors' houses (*oro*) are of precisely the same size and construction as the ordinary *bande*. The more prominent men of the village build themselves small meeting platforms, covered with a roof but lacking walls, for the entertainment of visitors (*anura*). In the gardens, we find small houses with an earth floor, no walls, but a platform just below roof level. People sit in these garden houses

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 25]

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

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TABLE II/4

CHANGES IN HOUSE DESIGN, HOUSE CONSTRUCTION AND DOMESTIC AMENITIES IN SIVEPE, 1936–1966
(Comparison between standards reportedly applied on four successive village sites)

| *Elements* | 1. *Pusahambo (pre-war)* | 2. *Pamba (between war and eruption)* | 3. *Old Sivepe (after eruption, until 1965)* | 4. *New Sivepe (1966)* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Floor level | Raised on posts | Raised on posts | Raised on posts | Raised on posts |
| Flooring material | Betelnut, wide gaps | Betelnuts, no gaps | Some betelnut, some blackpalm | Some betelnut, some blackpalm |
| Windows | No windows | No windows | Small windows | Large windows |
| No. of rooms | Three | Three | Three | Three |
| Walling material | Split sago | Split sago | Split sago | 'Timber' |
| Nails: Framing | Nil | Younger people | General | General |
| Nails: walls | Nil | Nil | Nil | General |
| Shrubs | Beside houses | Beside houses | Beside houses | To mark paths |
| Betelnut | Planted | Planted | Planted | Planted |
| Cocunut | Few | More | More | More |
| Waste disposal | In gully | In gully | In gully | Rubbish holes |
| Pigs | Present | Present | Present | Absent |
| Hen houses | Absent | Absent | Absent | Pens built |
| Lavatories | Absent | Absent | A few | General |
| Floor area | 'Very Small' | 'Bigger' | 'Much bigger again' (200 sq. ft.) | 'Big' (375 sq. ft.) |

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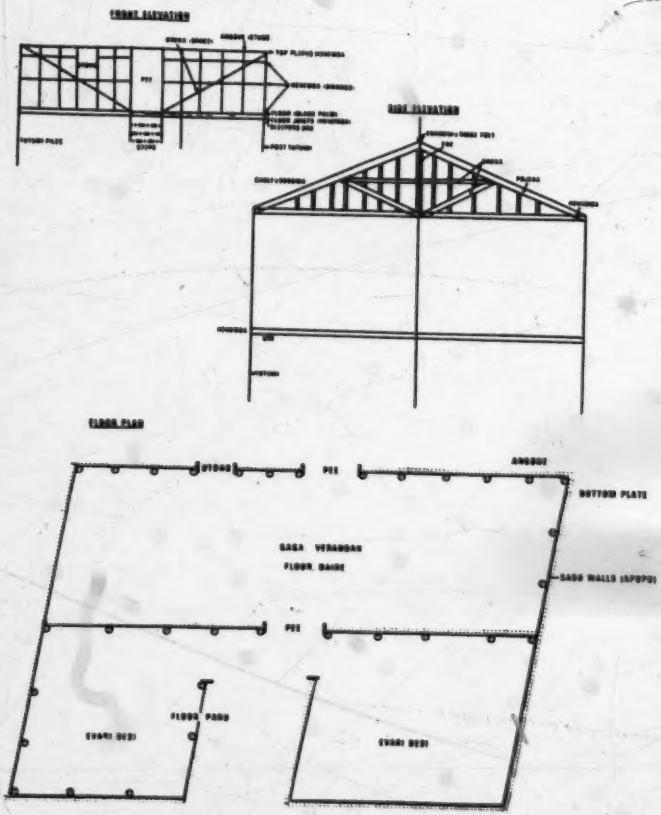


Fig. 3. Construction of a modern Orokaiva house.

(*haraa*) in the heat of the day, and sometimes sleep there at night. Yams are stored under the roof. 343

*Plastic Arts.* As Mauss (1967: 96) has suggested, the best starting point in the description of plastic arts is the decoration of the body. Even though the elaborate hair dressings described by Williams are no longer seen for everyday wear, every opportunity is taken to decorate the hair in some way, especially with a few feathers. It is at the ceremonial dances that the full range of body decoration is seen: face painting, feather head-dresses, ornaments. The latter are worn on the forehead, held in the teeth, suspended from ears and nose, as necklets and as armlets. 302 301

On the other hand, some feasts held today have no precise traditional equivalent. These include those associated with festivals of the local church; those to farewell or welcome home children attending distant schools, migrant workers and others; those to mark the opening of new churches, schools and medical aid posts; and finally and most recently, feasts or 'parties' to celebrate the birthdays of favoured children. 574 178

A birthday feast held in Inonda village in July 1962 illustrates changes taking place in some of the social and economic values of the community, and persistence in others. The celebration was held to mark the birthdays of the two adopted children (actually the illegitimate issue of two daughters) of a prominent local citizen, a retired mission teacher. It was the first such party held in this village, though similar parties had been held in neighbouring villages. Several villagers mentioned that they intended holding birthday parties for their first-born children. The idea was introduced by indigenous mission teachers who have attended birthday parties held by their European counterparts. 574 561 [177]

Few Orokaiva people are aware of the birth dates of their children and those few who are derive some satisfaction from the fact. In this instance, the children whose birthdays were being celebrated were a boy aged nine and a girl aged one. The party was said to be for both children, though 'mainly for the boy'. Their actual birthdays were said to have been 18 and 22 June respectively, but the feast was not held until the following Saturday as several of the villagers and many of those invited from outside the village work during the week as labourers for the Public Works Department, for a local engineering contractor and for local European planters. Almost all feasts and ceremonies conducted in this village today are held on Saturdays.

The host (the adopted father of the children) is not engaged in paid work and he and his wife, assisted by their three married daughters, spent the two preceding days gathering food from the gardens. Two of the daughters live in the same village as their father and the other in a village about six miles away. As all the host's male relatives in this village were employed at the time, he sent for his brother's grandson, a single man in a village about fifteen miles away, to come and assist. A small platform and a leaf shelter were built outside the host's house: the former to serve food on and the latter as shade for the visitors. 574 [343]

Taro was the main food provided, and of an estimated total contribution of 383 pounds, 128 pounds were brought by the host and his wife, 105 pounds by their three married daughters, 70 pounds by two clanswomen of the host's wife, and 80 pounds by three clanswomen of the host's eldest daughter's husband. 574 431 602

353 *tapa* cloths, also worn on ceremonial occa-
[415] sions; often nowadays mother's best dress and father's best shorts and shirt are also kept in this box. Everyday tools—fishing spears, pig spear, bush knife, and axe—are stored between the floor joists under the floor platform. A
[372] bundle of dry firewood may be stored under the house in case of a prolonged spell of wet
[227] weather. The dwelling of each clan fishing-leader is easily recognized by the large seine net hung to dry under the eaves or rolled in a corner of the verandah.

342 The Yega build one other form of dwelling, a garden shelter (*dobo*) usually roughly constructed with leaf walls, frequently open at one end and often so low from floor to roof that a person cannot stand erect in it. A *dobo* is a temporary dwelling, built near the swidden in current use, and used by a man and his family for up to a week at a time while they are working in their gardens, which may be three or four miles from the village. The *dobo* is also used to shelter from rain or to take a siesta during shorter, one-day visits to the garden.

343 A *gaga* is simply a talking platform where
[461] men sit for a chat, a chew (of betelnut) or a
[614] smoke during siesta time, or after the day's work is done. There is usually at least one *gaga* for each clan in a village. The *gaga* per-
[627] forms an important social function for it is here that quarrels are settled, marriages arran-
[584] ged, and the everyday problems and business of the village discussed and finalised.

291 Everyday clothing is a pair of shorts and maybe a shirt or a singlet for boys and men, and a cotton dress or skirt for girls and women.
[287] The traditional body covering for both men and women was beaten out bark-cloth of the
[191] paper mulberry tree. This is used throughout the Pacific and is known as *tapa*. *Tapa* skirts and loin cloths are still worn on special occasions, such as weddings and New Year sing-sings, while many older people wear *tapa* to
323 church on Sundays. The Yega and their neigh-
[289] bours are expert tapa-makers but they did not have either the suitable clay or the art of pot-
439 making. They used to trade their *tapa* for pots from Ambasi, thirty miles to the north, and
[198] from Wanigela, 100 miles to the south. This trade has now declined because everybody can

[P.U-A] [TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 12-A]

TABLE 10

CHANGES IN HOUSE DESIGN,
HOUSE CONSTRUCTION AND
DOMESTIC AMENITIES IN SIVEPE, 1936-1966
(Comparison between standards reportedly applied
on four successive village sites)

| Elements | 1. Pusahambo (pre-war) | 2. Pambs (between war and eruption) | 3. Old Sivepe (after eruption, until 1965) | 4. New Sivepe (1966) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Floor level | Raised on posts | Raised on posts | Raised on posts | Raised on posts |
| Flooring material | Betelnut, wide gaps | Betelnut: no gaps | Some betelnut, some blackpalm | Some betelnut, some blackpalm |
| Windows | No windows | No windows | Small windows | Large windows |
| No. of rooms | Three | Three | Three | Three |
| Walling material | Split sago | Split sago | Split sago | "Timber" |
| Nails: framing | Nil | Younger people | General | General |
| Nails: walls | Nil | Nil | Nil | General |
| Shrubs | Beside houses | Beside houses | Beside houses | To mark paths |
| Betelnut | Planted | Planted | Planted | Planted |
| Coconut | Few | More | More | More |
| Waste disposal | In gully | In gully | In gully | Rubbish holes |
| Pigs | Present | Present | Present | Absent |
| Hen houses | Absent | Absent | Absent | Pens built |
| Lavatories | Absent | Absent | A few | General |
| Floor area | "Very small" | "Bigger" | "Much bigger again" (200 sq. ft.) | "Big" (375 sq. ft.) |

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22: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1969 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23 Mount Lamington